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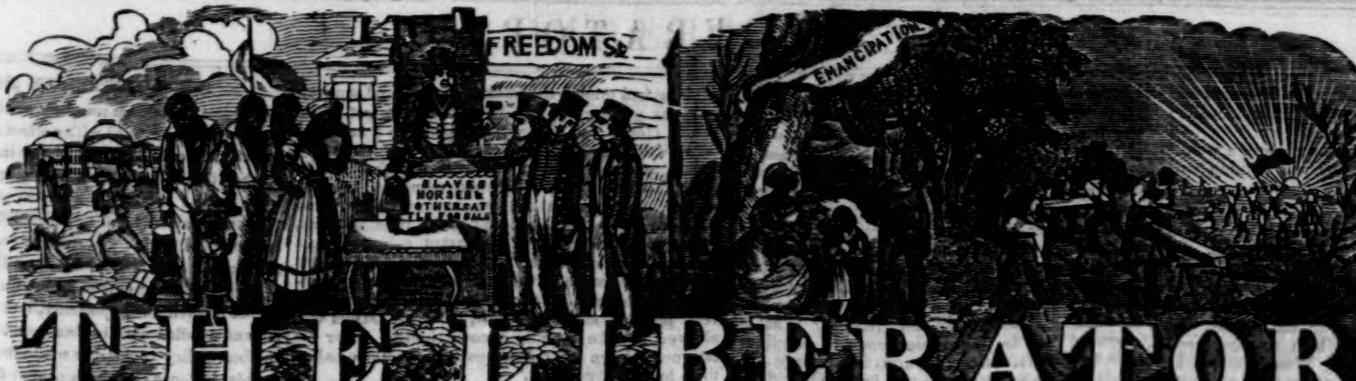
OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION A COVENANT WITH DEATH
AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.

"Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuation of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the right of twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slave—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons. . . . Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is, to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and thereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGA-
TION, AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NA-
TIONAL GOVERNMENT.—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

VOL XX. NO. 18.



BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, MAY 3, 1850.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, PRINTERS.

WHOLE NO. 1008.

Refuge of Oppression.

From the Boston Puritan Recorder.

FUGITIVE SLAVES.

Mr. Webster's late speech in the Senate has been extremely rare and thoughtfully considered, and may yet develop its real results. A thorough review of it by us cannot be expected. We wish to call attention only to one or two points. We regret to say he omitted to give an opinion in favor of the measure taken by Mr. Benton and others, that Mexico can have no slaves from the acquired territory.

Mr. Webster's opinion to that effect would have great influence. If our only security that slaves will not run into those territories is in the soil and climate, the North will naturally be shy of compromise. But our most serious objection is his treatment of the subject of fugitive slaves.

Mr. Webster's view is, that the United States Constitution lays the obligation on States, in their organic capacity, and that therefore our legislatures are bound to make laws which shall facilitate this delivery. But the decision of the United States Court is, that this power and duty of returning the fugitives resided only in the functionaries of the United States Government in the several States. Whether the Court erred or not, in their decision, as to the intent of the framers of this article in the Constitution, while their decision stands, the people are warranted in standing by it, as the law of the land. And on this point we know not that there is any difference between the North and South. All we regard is that as the law, and we think Mr. Webster's declaration of his contrary opinion is unexcused for, and of injurious tendency. Our legislatures are required only to do nothing to hinder the execution of slaves. And our citizens have by the same extent of obligation, to do what they can to act under the United States' authority, and in competition with the Federal Courts. In such cases, they are bound to execute the law as interpreted by the Courts. But the United States have no power in which slaves can be detained, till their case come under examination of the Court; and as the United States' criminals are confined in our county prisons, does not the duty of our State authorities to allow the detention of slaves in these places? Not at all. If the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court is binding—if the work of removing fugitives devolves wholly on the Federal government, that government must do the whole work, and provide its own facilities for doing it. The State is bound by the Constitution to open its doors even to convicts under the Federal laws. It is now a matter of comity or convenience. And as more is said about asylums for confining fugitive slaves. Besides, the Federal courts have strict means of detaining slaves. If need be, they can place them in the personal keeping of an officer. As the use of our prisons not being indispensable, is not required.

If this be a correct view of our obligation, as ascertained by the Supreme Court of the land, no citizen among us has any active duty to perform, under this provision of the Constitution, until he comes to act as a *judge, an officer, or a juror* concerned with the United States Courts. Then he is bound in good faith to execute the intent of this provision.

But even here, many will think that their official duty conflicts with their moral obligations. And it is a question of much interest and difficulty, What shall be done in such a case? One, whose conscience feels the difficulty of the case, might refuse an office which his agency in the return of self-liberated slaves. But if one were compelled to act as a juror in such a case, he might find himself in a strait betwixt two. It is not always an easy matter to know what to do in a case where there is a conflict between the law and abstract right; for it is plain that we must abide by our government by law, as imperfect as it necessarily is, or we must resort to anarchy, or to the arbitrary will of a despot. And if we abide by the laws, we must execute them in their imperfect and unjust enactments until they are repealed. For a judge or jury to say that a law is unjust, and therefore not to be put in force, would be to set aside the whole authority of the law, and at desists above law.

Such a necessity for the officers of law, to put in force statutes that conflict with natural justice, occurs not only here, but in all proceedings of courts. Rarely are our upper judges exempt from the necessity of enforcing laws which conflict with their own sense of right. Yet some bold and courageous man refuses the office of a judge, or for such a reason. For his obligations are violated by declaring what is the law. He is the voice, and not the maker of the law. And he knows that the general good requires, all things considered, that the law should be executed as it is.

If God, with all his wisdom and justice, were to frame a code of civil laws for a nation, he would not make it, in all things, quadrate with his moral law; for a civil code must of necessity frame itself upon existing usages and exigencies of the people. It is most tolerate, for a time, injurious customs, that cannot be wiped out without greater injury. This did well when he gave to the Hebrews a civil code. This did well when he gave to the Israelites a civil code, that people live in Massachusetts who are unable to appreciate disinterested patriotism? Has the memory of Warren faded away, that courageous devotion to a good cause can cease to be an object of admiration with any class of the sons of revolutionaries? But even if there be no appreciation of moral heroism on the part of the New England enemies of Daniel Webster, we should think that *gratitude* alone might compel their respect. New England is more indebted to that man than to any hero or statesman since the days of Warren, Hancock, and John Adams. If these illustrious personages gave liberty to New England, Webster has bestowed upon her that power and property which have made free institutions respectable, and protected them from aggression. If they taught her to strangle them from the womb of her cradle, he has, in her spirit, the Club of Hemlock, New England's the most sterile part of the United States, a land of rocks and snows, become, under the influence of Webster's statements, a region more fruitful than a garden of the tropics; a busy hive of human industry; a country of manufactures, commerce, and general education. There is not a stream which runs from her granite hills to the wide ocean, but should mingle the majestic name of Webster with the solemn thunder of the surf upon the shore; there is not a manufacturing town which should not erect a colossal statue in honor of him who has built his granite walls upon the rich staples of the South; there is not a city, every accession to whose heaving tide of life should not suggest the thought of that mighty mind whose workings at Washington have proved the main spring of New England wealth; there is not a ship which cleaves the blue brine of the most distant seas, should bear upon her prow a figure representing DANIEL WEBSTER—the champion of New England commerce—the firm lip curling in defiance of opposing waves, and the hand extended as if to grasp the sceptre of the mighty deep. No! Whoever else may doubt, distrust, desert, or assail Daniel Webster, New England ought to cling to him to the last, and never for a moment suspect his fidelity to her cause, nor believe that the man who is 'true to himself' in those respects is the greatest good of the greatest number requires its execution.

COMPROMISE NECESSARY.

Correspondence of the Boston Puritan Recorder.

WASHINGTON, March 16, 1850.

Mr. Webster's speech has been the theme of a animated conversation in all circles for a week past, and seems to have been expected in some way to operate like a charm, by way of affording relief to the distress which slavery has created here. Others are more sanguine than myself on this point. The Climate's conscience needs to have no obstruction in executing this unjust law, so long as the act is in strict accordance with the laws of the country. For it is plain, that however hard it may bear upon individual, the greatest good of the greatest number requires its execution.

Is the blood dyed upon Bunker Hill and in Lexington, that people live in Massachusetts who are unable to appreciate disinterested patriotism?

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nor believe that the man who is 'true to himself' in those respects is the greatest good of the greatest number requires its execution.

We sincerely trust that the people of New England, at present indications seem to warrant, sustain the course of Daniel Webster. Let us ascertain, though they may not be disposed to take counsel from this quarter, that it is more their interest than that of the South, to make no war against the Constitution and the Union.

From the Louisville Journal.

DISUNIONISM IN FANEUIL HALL.

There was a meeting of the disunionists of Boston in Faneuil Hall, on Monday evening of last week. The object of the meeting was to denounce the speech recently delivered in the Senate by Mr. Webster. Those who signed the call for the meeting are well known as fanatics of the most bitter sort. They are the same persons generally, who recently adopted a resolution calling for the 'immediate dissolution of the Union.' The meeting was addressed by Wendell Phillips, a leader of the small sect of Garrison abolitionists, the men who are in a very great hurry to see the Union shattered. It was just such a meeting as one would expect a fanatic of the first water to grow very fiery in, and accordingly Phillips was very 'eloquent' on the occasion. He denounced Webster as a 'traitor to the Constitution and an apostate to humanity.' Now, it must have been very funny to hear Phillips denouncing the great Massachusetts Senator for being a traitor to the Constitution, as he himself gloried in trampling the Constitution under foot, in denying that it ought to have any binding influence on honest men, and in calling it 'a covenant with death.' If Mr. Webster had proved a traitor to the Constitution, Mr. Wendell Phillips would have clutched him by the hair with extraordinary affection, while the fact that he has denounced the great Senator is of itself decent man and woman. A young, unmarried woman, poking about the country with Parker Pillsbury! Lucy! Lucy! what will folks think!

As for Parker Pillsbury, he was also present, and made a long speech. We regret that a gentleman for whose abilities we entertain so much admiration should have descended to mix himself up with such persons as crossed the meeting, should have exposed his wisdom with folly, his strong sense with their egregious fanaticism. What business has such a man at such a place? Why should Mr. Parker wish to see this glorious Union dissolved and rent in fragments? Why should he associate himself with traitors, and permit the accents of his honeyed wisdom, which have so often exalted the feelings of his hearers, to be mingled with the vile hisses of the vipers of treason? Garrison, Phillips, and their coadjutors, are men of cracked heads, and hearts full of malice and bitterness. They could look on the horrors of the civil war that would rage were the Union dissolved, as existingly as Nero looked on the burning of Rome. Their devilish malignity would be gratified with spectacles of blood; and the howlings of the demons of murder, and the shoutings of the infernal pack, that would follow in the wake of National discord, would be music in their insatiate ears. But what congeniality is there in such scenes with the spirit of Theodore Parker? What is there in blood and the blackness of warstorms for him to love? He should leave disunion to fools and fanatics, and seek to promote the feeling of a common brotherhood, the claims of which he has so eloquently exhibited in many a fervent appeal. We sincerely hope that he will speedily recover from that aberration of judgment under which he consented to address a brood of traitors, and henceforth conduct himself more consistently with his professed love and reverence of Christianity.

As for the Garrisonites who promoted this meeting to denounce Mr. Webster, they were only putting their vocation. They are madmen, who can忍受 nobody. But we hope the infection of madness may not vitiate nobler minds, minds which have hitherto exonerated themselves in behalf of the claims of peace and love, and humanity and brotherhood.

We are sorry that the voice of disunion should ever have been heard in Faneuil Hall, that glorious hall, in which the echoes of the eloquence of the whole-hearted champions of liberty, proclaimed during the war of our Revolution, yet seem to linger. While we regret the pollution of the venerable place by the clamor of the advocates of disunion, we rejoice that in Boston, that city so rich in her revolutionary annals and in the illustrations she has given of devotion to the spirit of liberty, the prevailing sentiment is so true to the Union of these States. There is a pack of pestilent traitors in that ancient city, but they are few indeed when compared with those who have never cherished a feeling akin to treason.

From the Baltimore Clipper.

DENUNCIATION OF DANIEL WEBSTER.

The great speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster is unpardonable to the fanatics and disunionists of Boston, who, at a recent meeting in Faneuil Hall, denounced him as a traitor. It could not have been expected that his speech in favor of preserving the Union would please those who lately petitioned the Legislature of Massachusetts for its dissolution; and of course, Mr. Webster is not disappointed at the condemnation of his sentiments by the worthless faction which assembled at Faneuil Hall. Their praise would not have been as acceptable as their censure; for their object is to destroy the country, while his is to preserve it. Among those by whom he is reviled are a clergyman and a negro, who appear to have been fit associates, from the work in which they were engaged. Whilst Mr. Webster has won, by his speech, the respect and confidence of every friend of the Union, may spur the 'scouring politicians,' white and black, who assail him for being on the side of his country.

We venture to assert that the members of the Faneuil Hall meeting, which condemned Mr. Webster, and who affect so much sympathy for slaves, would not purchase their freedom at the expense of one dollar for each slave liberated. If this sympathy were to cost anything, it would not be indulged.

Had they endorsed the speech of Mr. Webster, he might well have asked himself, 'What evil have I done that I should receive the praise of these men?'

From the Rome (Ga.) Eagle and Bulletin.

BEHOLD YOUR BROTHER.

William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the Boston Liberator, uses the following fanatical and blasphemous language:

'The time has come to preach disunion on the highest moral and religious ground. The Constitution of the United States is a covenant with death and an agreement with hell.'

In the name of God, of Christ, of humanity, of liberty, repudiate and denounce the Constitution which secures the slaveholder in his property and his rights; but, in the name of justice, never presume to call yourselves friends of the South, but traitors to her interests, and co-workers with the abolitionists in the destruction of our liberties.'

From the Springfield Republican.

THE NEW LIGHTS.

We have received from our correspondent an account of a meeting, held last Sabbath, in Northampton, by Parker Pillsbury and Miss Lucy Stone. In the morning, about 75 persons were present, and in the afternoon, from 120 to 130. Pillsbury denounced all churches and denominations of Christians, and the three political parties, being partic-

ularly hard on the Free Soil party. The fruits of the revival from 1830 to 1840, he declared, were, in the first, the murder of 75,000 Mexicans, and he gave it as his opinion that it is 'time we had done with religion.' General Taylor, Daniel Webster, and the Free Soil delegation in Congress, were abused very heartily, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison was declared the Jesus Christ of the present age.' After Parker had concluded, Lucy 'took her time,' and advertised certain tracts, and recommended Garrison's Liberator. The Town Hall was the building leased to these Sabbath desecrators, for which the Selectmen ought to be obliged to read the Liberator through every week. A severe penalty, but well earned.

As for Parker Pillsbury, perhaps it is not proper for us to state that he is either a scoundrel or a fool, or a happy combination of the two. We have a private opinion upon the point. Lucy Stone ought to be in better business. The language of the song 'Rock the cradle, Lucy' would perhaps convey in some degree our idea of that young lady's duty. Lucy Stone, you are a poor, despised woman, and none the better, mark it, for being despised. Your work is a miserable one, you are in low company, and used as the tool of blackguards to draw houses; and in your public harangues, and the exhibition of yourself to the rabble, are a shame to your sex, and the subject of pity, contempt and ridicule to every decent man and woman. A young, unmarried woman, poking about the country with Parker Pillsbury! Lucy! Lucy! what will folks think!

If there be one pest in society more low, more base, and more worthy execration than any other, it is one of these 'new light' apostles, who parambulate the country, decrying Christianity and the Christian Church, cursing the Constitution and the Government, trampling on the sacred institutions of religion, and promulgating his disgusting doctrines of social life. We should think that Northampton had seen enough of such people, without issuing a special license for their Sunday accommodation. A canting hypocritical Christianity is bad enough, but a brawling, hypocritical infidelity stinks.

not be stopped while the separate schools are maintained. We are fully convinced that the city, or its board of school committee, have no moral or legal right to exclude the colored children from the public schools, established and maintained by the means and votes of all classes, conditions and colors. The expediency of the thing is quite another matter. On the grounds of legal right and equity, alone, the position of the city is decidedly untenable.

Prejudice goes a great way in preventing the acknowledgment of the rights of the colored citizens; and on this point, we are free to say we do not believe any practical inconvenience will be experienced from the distribution of the colored children in the schools of the city. Such has not been the result in other cities and towns of the State. No where in the Commonwealth, save in Boston, are they excluded. In Salem, where the colored people are nearly as numerous as here, their children attend school with the white children. So in New Bedford and Lowell, and without inconvenience or difficulty. The same is true of Worcester, Cambridge, Roxbury, Charlestown, and of all the towns of the State, in very many of which there are more or less colored people. Several colored men have been educated at our highest academies and colleges, and have graduated with the fullest honors. But we need not further speak on this point.

Of one thing we are certain. Were we a colored resident, sharing in the responsibilities of citizenship, contributing our proportion to the support of the municipal government, we would give no cessation to our efforts and our agitation till this stigma upon our social position, this violation of our undoubted rights, was removed and atoned for in the equal privilege of our children with the whites to all the advantages which the city affords in its public education.

CLAY, BENTON AND FOOTE.

Correspondence of the Boston Courier.

WASHINGTON, April 18, 1850.

The proceedings in the Senate yesterday, are deserving of recital. So far as the debate went, it was for the most part a war of the Giants. As to the piping, it was no war at all.

When we went in, a little after one o'clock, Mr. Benton had the floor, and was speaking in a mingled strain of humor, irony, broad caricature, and energy, again the sides of which the California, the other subjects to be referred to, Mr. Foote's committee. He was snarling, sarcastic, and biting. The immediate cause of the debate was a plan that Mr. Clay had devised to cut the throat of all Benton's amendments at one stroke of the razor. Mr. Benton had offered fourteen of them to the resolution appointing the committee, on which he said he had determined to demand the year and nays, and also to debate them so far as might be necessary. He likewise int

man by the arm, and pats the other on the back, and by means of his magnetic power, his imperiousness of temper, his dictatorial bearing, his superciliousness of tone, his knowledge of and sympathy with men, his persuasive manners, his oily and delightful fluency, the inexpressible charm of his colloquial powers, his overbearing assumptions, his fierce and implacable temper, his lofty and generous impulses, his noble sentiments, his impassioned eloquence—all curiously compounded and blended until they form one of the most remarkable and influential characters that ever lived—being such a man, we say, he will most certainly break down the House, and force his grand compromise through. And to him [if to any Whig] will redound all the glory, and ensure all the political advantage, of this most notable transaction.

Mr. Webster is out of the case. His independent vote on Wednesday last lost him the mushroom Southern friends he gained by his speech, and Clay is now the sole god of their idolatry. He is warmed up to fever heat at the prospect before him, and having sprung upon the box and grasped the reins, he is now dashing ahead, Jehu-like, six in hand, boldly flinging his old motto to the wind—'The devil take the hindmost.' Those who do not want to be run over, must get out of the way. But, if there are to be victims in the race, as there will be if this triumphant chariot be not arrested, we say to Mr. Clay and his conductors, in the language of the

'Wo, wo to the riders that trample them down!'

THE FOOTE OUTRAGE.

The following account of the late disgraceful scene in the Senate is rather more minute in its details, than the report we have already published.

Mr. Benton.—The amendment of the Senator from Kentucky is not yet adopted. It has been merely added to the original motion; and I have the right to offer my amendments. The previous question is not the law in this body. The rules of the Senate still stand. And, sir, my amendments declaring the Constitutional rights of the States will cut up by the roots the plan that they are to plant in my State. And I venture to say that those who are in plantation as numerous as they are in the South, but what the owner can tell you the name of every person on the plantation, and that without hesitation. We generally keep a record of their names and ages.

Mr. King.—I see by the schedule that the Census Board is required to obtain information as to the places of birth of slaves. Now there is no Southern gentleman here, who does not know that it is wholly impracticable to obtain information of this description that will be at all satisfactory or reliable.

The proposition that I now make is to amend schedule number two, by striking out the words 'places

'from State to another, and the purchasers of such slaves know nothing about their places of birth, and consequently it is utterly out of their power to give such information, and if it could be given, it would be perfectly valueless.'

They are known to have been born within the slave States, but in which of them, is not known. There may be a few who can tell, but a large majority of them cannot by any possibility say where they were born, nor give such information as will lead to any beneficial result.

The question being put on the motion to strike out the words 'places of birth,' it was agreed to.

Mr. King.—In schedule two are the following words:—*If a female, the number of children she has had, known to be alive, known to be dead. Now, sir, it is impossible to ascertain the number of children*

upon a plantation that any woman has had. The woman herself, in nine out of ten cases, when she has had ten or fifteen children, does not know how many she has actually had—(a laugh). No, sir, she cannot tell. The owner certainly does not know; because the manager of the estate does not know, because the managers are frequently changed. One or two chil-

dren may be born while an individual is manager of an estate, and others may be born after his place is supplied by another. There is no mode by which you can ascertain, except through the medium of the woman, and she cannot tell.

Mr. Davis.—It is very desirable, inasmuch as population is the basis for representation to rest upon, that the enumeration should include this particular kind of information. There must be an enumeration nearly accurate as can be made.

Mr. Underwood.—In these tables we require not only the age and sex, but the color of the person, and we find in another column the degree of removal from pure blood is required to be stated; and this inquiry, in reference to the number of children each woman may have had, I can inform my honorable friend, was inserted, as far as I know, at the instance of a Southern gentleman, with a view to ascertain certain facts which I do not think necessary to go into here. Now, the question is, are you willing to take all this information, with a view to ascertain the laws of longevity between the two races—the negroes of blood, and other physical laws of the races. And the tables have been constructed in reference to age, to degrees of the blood, to the number of children, and other tables developing the subject of comparative longevity.

Mr. Benton.—Get out of the way, and let the assassin fire. (Very loud and angry.) Cries of 'Order! order!' [order?] Let the assassin fire! (Where is the Sergeant-at-Arms?)

The Vice-President.—The Senate will come to order. The Sergeant-at-Arms must enforce the order of the Senate. Where is the Sergeant-at-Arms?

Mr. Butler.—Order, gentlemen, for God's sake!

Sensors will take their seats.

Mr. Benton.—Let the assassin fire! Let the assassin use his weapon! I have no arms. I did not come to assassinate. (Order, order.)

Mr. Foote delivered his pistol to Mr. Dickinson.

The Sergeant-at-Arms, who had been keeping order in the Senate, as soon sort of order was restored in the Senate, came forward.

Mr. Dickinson.—What is the question before the Senate? (Very coolly.)

The Vice-President.—It is on the amendment.

Mr. Benton (in a towering passion)—No, sir; you are not going to get off that way. There must be something done. An assassin has drawn his pistol in the Senate. I believe, sir, we cannot assassinate or commit murder in this body. A scoundrel has threatened a murder in the Senate. He has exhibited his pistol, like an assassin. I carry no arms, sir. I have none about me. But, sir, it was my wish to let the assassin fire.

Mr. Foote.—I only meant to defend myself.

Mr. Benton.—He is armed, like an assassin, and has threatened to assassinate a man in the Senate. (Order, order, order.) I carry no arms. (Order, order.)

Vice President.—The people will take their seats. The Senate will come to order.

Mr. Foote attempted to speak; but

Mr. Benton interposed. I hope the Senate will take cognizance of this. The assassin has brought a pistol into the Senate, and has used it like a scoundrel.

Mr. Foote desired a word. He was simply armed for defense. I apprehended that the Senator from Missouri would stab me, or shoot me. I thought that he was armed. I have never attacked any man. I have acted on the defensive all my life; and repeating these protestations, he declared before God that he thought the Senator was armed, or he should not have displayed his own means of defence.

Mr. Hale solemnly appealed that it was due to the Senate and the country that this deplorable affair should be investigated.

Mr. Borden.—I hardly think an investigation necessary. It is a very ridiculous matter. I apprehend that there is no danger on foot. (A laugh at the pun.)

Mr. Mangum concurred in the necessity of an investigation.

Mr. Henry Dodge, (the elder)—There should be, sir, an investigation. I have known the Senator from Missouri, sir, for thirty years. I have never known him to carry arms, though I know that when impelled to it, he has used them. I stood by the Senator when I saw him rise from his seat. I endeavored to stop him. I think if men are disposed to fight, they should not do it in the Senate. There is room enough out of doors and in the streets. There shall say nothing about drawing the pistol, by the Senator from Mississippi. That was his own affair.

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Mr. Mangum approved the Senator's remarks, and moved that the committee have the power to examine witnesses. Agreed to.

Mr. Clay thought the motion did not go far enough. The Senators should go before a magistrate, and bind themselves over to keep the peace, or pledge themselves to the Senate to prosecute the matter no further.

Mr. Benton.—I have done nothing, in God Almighty's world, to induce me to confess to the world of the peace. I will rot in jail first. I have done nothing. It is lying and cowardly in the assassin to say, that I believed I came here with arms; I have no arms, and I shall rot in jail before I make any confession of a breach of the peace.

Mr. Foote appealed to move, but on

Mr. Foote protested that he never carried arms when he believed himself in personal danger. He should attack nobody. In this matter, the door was wide open, and he would prefer adjusting it as a man of honor. (Benton—Ha! ha! ha!)

Mr. Dickinson explained that when he called for the question, it was with the view of getting Senator to their places, nothing more.

Mr. Benton.—Ah! then, I owe the Senator a word. I thought I could get the question as if nothing had happened.

Mr. Dickinson.—Not at all, sir.

A CURIOUS DEBATE IN SENATE.

Correspondence of the New York Tribune.

WASHINGTON, April 10.

Is n't the following discussion in the Senate, on the Census Bill, rich? Is n't it both amusing and instructive? What d'ye think? Would the black mothers, South, remember how many children they had borne, or are their intellect and education so inferior that they would be utterly unable to tell?

Mr. Clemens.—There is not a man in the South, owing a bounded negroes, who knows scarcely any more of the names of the slave children than I do. He would be obliged to send the census-taker to the negro quarters himself, to ascertain the information.

Mr. Underwood.—If the slave-owner cannot give the name of the children, how is he to give the age?

Mr. Clemens.—He knows how many children there are, and can tell about the time they were born. Say that he has a negro woman of the name of Eliza, with four children—he can state about the time each was born. As to their names, he would not know any thing about that until the children had reached the age of 12 or 14.

Mr. Underwood.—I cannot speak for the large negro owners in the South, but I can of that description of people and places in my own State. And I venture to say that they are not like us in numbers as they are in the South, but what the owner can tell you the name of every person on the plantation, and that without hesitation. We generally keep a record of their names and ages.

Mr. King.—I see by the schedule that the Census Board is required to obtain information as to the places of birth of slaves. Now there is no Southern gentleman here, who does not know that it is wholly impracticable to obtain information of this description that will be at all satisfactory or reliable.

The proposition that I now make is to amend schedule number two, by striking out the words 'places

'from State to another, and the purchasers of such slaves know nothing about their places of birth, and consequently it is utterly out of their power to give such information, and if it could be given, it would be perfectly valueless.'

They are known to have been born within the slave States, but in which of them, is not known. There may be a few who can tell, but a large majority of them cannot by any possibility say where they were born, nor give such information as will lead to any beneficial result.

The question being put on the motion to strike out the words 'places of birth,' it was agreed to.

Mr. King.—In schedule two are the following words:—*If a female, the number of children she has had, known to be alive, known to be dead. Now, sir, it is impossible to ascertain the number of children*

upon a plantation that any woman has had. The woman herself, in nine out of ten cases, when she has had ten or fifteen children, does not know how many she has actually had—(a laugh). No, sir, she cannot tell. The owner certainly does not know; because the manager of the estate does not know, because the managers are frequently changed. One or two chil-

dren may be born while an individual is manager of an estate, and others may be born after his place is supplied by another. There is no mode by which you can ascertain, except through the medium of the woman, and she cannot tell.

Mr. Davis.—It is very desirable, inasmuch as population is the basis for representation to rest upon, that the enumeration should include this particular kind of information. There must be an enumeration nearly accurate as can be made.

Mr. Underwood.—In these tables we require not only the age and sex, but the color of the person, and we find in another column the degree of removal from pure blood is required to be stated; and this inquiry, in reference to the number of children each woman may have had, I can inform my honorable friend, was inserted, as far as I know, at the instance of a Southern gentleman, with a view to ascertain certain facts which I do not think necessary to go into here. Now, the question is, are you willing to take all this information, with a view to ascertain the laws of longevity between the two races—the negroes of blood, and other physical laws of the races. And the tables have been constructed in reference to age, to degrees of the blood, to the number of children, and other tables developing the subject of comparative longevity.

Mr. Benton.—Get out of the way, and let the assassin fire. (Very loud and angry.) Cries of 'Order! order!' [order?] Let the assassin fire! (Where is the Sergeant-at-Arms?)

The Vice-President.—The Senate will come to order. The Sergeant-at-Arms must enforce the order of the Senate. Where is the Sergeant-at-Arms?

Mr. Butler.—Order, gentlemen, for God's sake!

Sensors will take their seats.

Mr. Benton.—Let the assassin fire! Let the assassin use his weapon! I have no arms. I did not come to assassinate. (Order, order.)

Vice President.—The people will take their seats. The Senate will come to order.

Mr. Foote attempted to speak; but

Mr. Benton interposed. I hope the Senate will take cognizance of this. The assassin has brought a pistol into the Senate, and has used it like a scoundrel.

Mr. Foote desired a word. He was simply armed for defense. I apprehended that the Senator from Missouri would stab me, or shoot me. I thought that he was armed. I have never attacked any man. I have acted on the defensive all my life; and repeating these protestations, he declared before God that he thought the Senator was armed, or he should not have displayed his own means of defence.

Mr. Hale solemnly appealed that it was due to the Senate and the country that this deplorable affair should be investigated.

Mr. Borden.—I hardly think an investigation necessary. It is a very ridiculous matter. I apprehend that there is no danger on foot. (A laugh at the pun.)

Mr. Mangum concurred in the necessity of an investigation.

Mr. Henry Dodge, (the elder)—There should be, sir, an investigation. I have known the Senator from Missouri, sir, for thirty years. I have never known him to carry arms, though I know that when impelled to it, he has used them. I stood by the Senator when I saw him rise from his seat. I endeavored to stop him. I think if men are disposed to fight, they should not do it in the Senate. There is room enough out of doors and in the streets. There shall say nothing about drawing the pistol, by the Senator from Mississippi. That was his own affair.

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Mr. Mangum approved the Senator's remarks, and moved that the committee have the power to examine witnesses. Agreed to.

Mr. Clay thought the motion did not go far enough. The Senators should go before a magistrate, and bind themselves over to keep the peace, or pledge themselves to the Senate to prosecute the matter no further.

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THE CONSTITUTION.
Extracts from the Speech made by Gerrit Smith, in the Senate of the State of New York, March 11th and 12th, 1840. Albany : Jacob T. Haze, Printer.

This is a pamphlet of thirty large octavo pages, the object of which is preposterous and hopeless to the last degree—viz., to convince this slaveholding and slave-feeding nation that it has an anti-slavery Constitution, if *did but know it*—always has had it since it was a nation—and so designed it to be from the beginning! Hence, all slaveholding under it is illegal, and ought in virtue of it to be forthwith abolished by act of Congress. No folly can be greater than this—not even the attempt of a man to bite off his nose! It is a pity that one so active, so philanthropic, so morally courageous as Gerrit Smith, should be so erratic and befooled in this particular. An rational attempt to convince the American people that they inhabit the moon, and ‘run upon all fours,’ as that they have not intelligently, deliberately and purposely entered into a covenant, by which two millions of slaves are now held securely in bondage? They are not to be let off so easily, either by inglorious Heaven or outraged Earth! To tell them that, for three score years, they have misinterpreted and misinformed their own Constitution, in a manner gross and distorted beyond any thing known in human history; that Washington, Jefferson, Adams, & all who framed that Constitution—the Supreme Court of the United States, and all its branches, and all other Courts—the national Congress and all State Legislatures—have utterly perverted its scope and meaning—is the easiest and the absurdest thing ever heard of beneath the stars! No, not thus are they to be allowed to escape hot censure and unspun condemnation. They have committed no blunder; they have not erred through stupidity; they have not been misled by any legal sophistry. They are verily guilty of the most atrocious crimes, and have sinned against the clearest light ever vouchsafed to any people. They have designedly framed mischief by a law, and consigned to chains and infamy an innocent and helpless race. Hence, it is no error in legal interpretation that they are to corrupt, but they are to be arraigned as criminals of the deepest dye, warned of the wrath to come, and urged to the immediate confession and abandonment of the great ‘hosting sin.’ Now, therefore, go to, speak to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I come against you, and devise a device against you; return ye now every one from his evil way, and make your ways and your doing good!

which I strive; is not merely compact—but truly regard of my country. I people of this the bonds of of them may affect me; in the contrary, those unmean- our generous interest and, my desire of things pro- with gratitude, as spreading rich or poor, there shall the great so- great success- cal, and glo- of an UNITED

Mr. Webster, which rests upon us worse from of his speech mind as that to support to the kid- he dares to tens and the deter- nuous scruples regard for the which must be provided for reable duty, & principles' on the re- the main substance of every government ness of the wheels of that hidous, could instan- tary to the bring to place

a, dissenting ent speech of states Senate, in the Pine, the 13th chair, and Underwood, Moody, Gil- committees ap- owing reso- nuous vote in a recent States, against the sp- California, New States; to slaveholding Texas; and of every circuit or clerk, collect- remediless es from

was 'not fit the repre- which has of Eng- industry; and dis- appearing re- ghty of guilt, and the longer de- of the Com- the odious tems of op- straged the

and once dissem- in, threat- serves to bring Liberty the gove- the sacred of Amer- limited- tions, and hands in, in oppo- which has of Eng- industry; and dis- appearing re- ghty of guilt, and the longer de- of the Com- the odious tems of op- straged the

FOOTNOTES.—It is creditable to the Northern portion of the Whig party, that not a Whig Senator from the North voted in favor of the appointment of this Committee—not even Mr. Webster, though he had the weakness to allow himself to be made a member of it.

with a deliberative assembly, chosen by popular suffrage, and invested with powers to frame a new government, in some shape or other endurable, if not every thing desirable! Now, historically and legally, it is a matter of great moment to know what the framers of the Constitution understood and meant by every article, section and clause of it; what they expressed in plain and unequivocal language, there being no necessity for using any other; what they embodied in equivocal or collusive phraseology, to meet a disagreeable necessity; what they implied by circumlocution, to cover up positive wickedness; and what they asserted in direct terms. It was given to them to frame the instrument, as, representing conflicting interests and opposite parts of the country, they could best agree; but after its adoption, the nation became responsible for it as made in good faith by their authorized representatives.

Mr. Smith says, we are to look after the intention of the adopters, not that of the framers of the Constitution. Very well; we do not see that he gains anything by this distinction. That the signers and framers of that instrument understood its conditions and requirements in precisely the same manner is historically certain; and especially as to whatever is in relating to slavery and the slave-trade. The law of Congress providing for the recapture of fugitive slaves, was passed almost immediately after the adoption of the Constitution; who cried out against it as unconstitutional? When Southern representatives of the slave population (on the three-fifths basis) first made their appearance in Congress, who raised his voice against them in the name of the Constitution? The foreign slave traffic was prosecuted under the star-spangled banner more vigorously after than before the adoption of that instrument; who dreamed of its being an illegal trade? There were at least six hundred thousand slaves in the country, at the adoption of the Constitution; who thought, believed, or proclaimed, that they were made free by it? For Mr. Smith declares, with all confidence and boldness—it is an anti-slavery instrument; it demands the abolition of every part and parcel of American Slavery! If, then, they who adopted it understood and so designed it, how came the slaveholding South to vote for it? and how came it to pass that under the ‘supreme law of the land,’ not a single slave thereby became free? When was the will, yes, the very purpose of a people so instantly nullified before? How does Mr. Smith meet facts like these, high as the heavens and immovable as the foundations of the earth? Thus!—Why was not this demand [for the abolition of slavery] obeyed, immediately after the adoption of the Constitution? I admit that there was, at that time, no desire, [mark!] no purpose, [mark again!] to array the power of ‘legal rigor’ has been fairly tried, and with what success? The bad have been made worse, and the ruin of the criminal (however trifling his first offence) made absolute by this treatment, almost beyond recovery. ‘Kindness to the guilty’ is what Christianity enjoins—the hinge on which turns the door of admission into heaven:—For if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive yours. It is the evidence of that charity which seeks not her own—of a true and noble magnanimity—and the only mode of overcoming evil which Christ has enjoined on his followers. As far as it has been tried, it has proved marvellously efficacious. The success which has attended the labors of JOHN AUGUSTUS and JOHN M. SPEAR, in this city, in cases given over by the community as hopeless and incurable, has astonished all who are conversant with what these humble but indefatigable philanthropists have attempted. Yet under what disadvantages they have labored, and with what limited means! Has it not been demonstrated in every country, that the more sanguinary the penal code, the more crime abounds—the less secure is society from depredation and outrage? What is it, then, but fatuity to persist in such a course of punishment? The system, it was supposed (?) could not extend beyond that generation; but though the Constitution ‘demanded its retribution,’ neither during that generation was it applied, nor has it been at any subsequent period, in any other manner than to extend and perpetuate what it was framed to suppress! All logical gravity terminates here in loud and long-protracted laughter.

But this is not the height of this folly. Mr. Smith kindly tells us that it was thought better to let slavery live on in suffrage through that generation at least, ‘than to disturb the infant and unconsolidated nation by putting an immediate stop to it’! So, then, even at that period, an attempt to give the slaves the benefit of the anti-slavery Constitution aforesaid would have convulsed the land, and blown the Union sky high! Undoubtedly, Mr. Smith; because no such Constitution was ever adopted, and for no other reason! To say that men have no right to do wrong is a truism; to intimate that they have not the power to do so is an absurdity. If they have the power, it is possible for them to use it; and no where do they use it with more alacrity, or on a more gigantic scale, than in the United States. There is not a national government existing on earth, and never has been, that is ‘legal,’ in the sense of that word as used by Mr. Smith.

‘I wish it to be distinctly understood,’ says Mr. Smith, ‘and fully admitted, that this is not a historical question, but a legal question.’ Now, we neither understand nor admit this, and therefore object to the very first step in the progress of this discussion. We maintain that this question pertains to the historical almost exclusively; certainly to whatever is peculiar, local and institutional in the United States. Mr. Smith adds:—‘To ascertain the meaning of the Constitution, we are to subject it, as we do any other law, to the strict rules of legal interpretation.’ It seems to us that this statement is extremely fallacious. The Constitution is not a *statute*, but a *compact* formed between separate and independent colonies, with conflicting interests and diverse sentiments, to be resolved in the best manner possible, by concession and compromise, for the attainment of a common object—their own safety and welfare against a common enemy. What those concessions and compromises were, all know when the compact was framed and adopted; they related to the prosecution of the foreign slave trade for twenty years, to the allowance of a slave representation in Congress, to the hunting of fugitive slaves, and to the suppression of domestic insurrections, for the special benefit of the slave States; and to direct taxation and the navigation laws, in behalf of the free States. The Constitution of the United States, then, is a form of government, having special powers and prerogatives of its own—created under great emergencies and with peculiar features—until any thing in ancient or modern times; a *form of government*, we reiterate, not a *legislative enactment*, but under which, and by authority of which, laws are to be passed, but laws never to be interpreted to the subversion of the government, or by a higher standard! The people of this country have bound themselves by an oath to no other God, before than a *CONSTITUTIONAL GOD* which their own hands have made, and to which they demand homage of every one born or resident on the American soil, on peril of imprisonment or death! His fiat is the supreme law of the land!

Mr. Smith thinks that with the intention of the framers of the Constitution, ‘we do not concern ourselves any more than with the intention of the scrawlers whom we employed to write the deed of a parcel of land.’ Can reasoning be more loose than this, or logic more feeble? We see no pertinency in the illustration: the analogy is defective. A scrawler employed to write a deed—write as ordered by us—write according to an approved and established form; in the name of common sense, is he, or his avocation, or his deed, or all together, to be compared

LATTER-DAY PAMPHLET, edited by THOMAS CARLYLE. No. IV. THE NEW DOWNING STREET. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co., 110 Washington Street—1850.

We can make nothing of this number. It is incoherent, grotesque, worthless. Its effectuation of superior wisdom is exceedingly ludicrous, matched by nothing but its total emptiness. Vampires, Nightmara, Phantoms, Devils, &c., usual, dance through its pages ‘in metaphorical confusion,’ but not once even of lurid light is cast in any direction. Touching all reformatory matters, its author is among the shallowest of men. His contempt for the down-trodden masses is quite Satanic, while his admiration of sheer intellect and force amounts to genuine devilship. In the teeth of the facts of all history to the contrary, he maintains that change, improvement, reform, must descend to us from above, since none has yet sprung from below—from above we shall have to try it; the other is exhausted—a hopeless method that! In other words, we must look to some weathercock to change the wind, and no longer trust to the wind to remove noxious envenom and turn the waste-rock! The very wisdom of that world, which is foolishness with God, and with all who possess moral instinct and common sense in any wholesome degree of development. And so, whether Sir Robert Peel will undertake the Reformation of Downing Street for us is not known—but ‘they say he is getting old, does himself recoil from it, and shudder at it’—also: England’s chance of salvation! For, as Mr. Carlyle reads the omens, there is no man in his time more authentically called to a post of difficulty, of danger, and of honor, than this man. Wonderful Sir Robert Peel, who has ‘but to hit his finger’ to work miracles! Cruel Sir Robert Peel, to hesitate, and doubt, and recoil, and shudder, where all is so easy and plain!

CRIME AND ITS PUNISHMENT.

Alluding to the meeting held at the Melodeon, in this city, on Sunday, the 21st ult., with regard to the treatment of criminals, the Boston correspondent of the New York Evangelist says—

Messrs. St. George, Garrison and Phillips undertook to reason a knot of heroes into the silly notion that punishment is revengeful, that man ought not to punish, because he cannot measure guilt with exactness, and that the public safety requires more kindness to the guilty, and less legal rigor. Fortunately, Massachusetts is not given over to such leaders.

Well, with far other leaders, believing in the infliction of severe punishment, what advance has Massachusetts made in abolishing crime and restraining criminals? None whatever. The experiment of ‘legal rigor’ has been fairly tried, and with what success?

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EARL HAREWOOD INTERDICTING MARRIAGES.

The Leeds Times says, ‘Historians inform us that the feudal barons in ancient days, in England, claimed the right to refuse to their serfs the contract of marriage, and by a politic exercise of this power, contrived to abstract considerable sums from the dependents, who were glad to purchase the lord’s consent, even by a heavy pecuniary sacrifice. We had, however, thought the custom of an absent custom had been abolished, but were mistaken, for even now the Protection of Lord Harewood publicly announces the pains and penalties which he will inflict upon the residents, not of a village only, but of an entire district, who may dare to enter into the state of matrimony without having previously obtained his consent! Lost we should be accused of joking in this matter, we present our readers with a *verbalis et literaris* copy of a ‘notice’ which has been served upon all the cottage tenants of the Earl of Harewood, in the village of Harewood, and other places on the estate!—

In consequence of the continued practice of over-crowding and taking lodgers into the cottages on the Harewood estate (most of which are within the village of Harewood) contrary to the express agreement and regulations, notice is hereby given, that any cotager being a tenant of the Earl of Harewood, who shall, from the date hereof, take in any lodger, or whose son or daughter shall marry and bring home to the cottage wife or husband, without having previously obtained permission from the Earl of Harewood, shall receive notice to quit; which notice will be strictly enforced; and if in the employment of said Earl, shall be discharged.

WM. MAUGHAN, Agent.

Harewood, Jan. 15, 1850.

But this is not the height of this folly. Mr. Smith kindly tells us that it was thought better to let slavery live on in suffrage through that generation at least, ‘than to disturb the infant and unconsolidated nation by putting an immediate stop to it’! So, then, even at that period, an attempt to give the slaves the benefit of the anti-slavery Constitution aforesaid would have convulsed the land, and blown the Union sky high! Undoubtedly, Mr. Smith; because no such Constitution was ever adopted, and for no other reason!

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The Boston Union of Associationists celebrated the birth of Fourier, in Cochituate Hall, on Tuesday evening, April 9th, instead of the 7th, ‘which this year came on Sunday.’ What if it did? That which claims to be radically reformatory should not succumb to a popular superstition. Sunday evening, therefore, instead of Tuesday, should have been the time for this festival. At least two things are wanting among Fourier’s professed admirers, on this side of the Atlantic—moral courage and consistency. Moreover, much of their language is to us, and we are very certain to the laboring classes generally, quite unintelligible, and altogether too sublimated for common use and acceptance. Here is one of the ‘sentiments’ of the occasion:—

‘To Joy! To Liberty! To Childhood’s mirth! To Youth’s enthusiasm! To the warm life-thrill of Attraction! Let rhythmic feasts, and songs, and dances, keep alive the prophecy of the Harmonic Times!

All this is very fanciful, but we perceive in it nothing very definite or very formidable as pertaining to the work of reform. Indulgence in ‘feasts, and songs, and dances’ is an easy master—much easier than to take up the cross, and to bear the heat and burden of the day, in an actual conflict with any form of popular injustice or religious bigotry—than the observance, for instance, of birth-day of Fourier, when it happens to occur on Sunday!

The hour of twelve arrived, ‘when the last sentiment was offered with solemnity (!)—To UNIVERSAL UNITY!’—after which, an hour or two was passed in dancing and free friendly intercourse. Our Fourier friends may rely upon it, that it is not by any such ludicrous mixtures, or by any flourishes about the scope of possibilities—that you could win over to your view of the Constitution a majority, so that the entire body of the people of the North, so that they could control the action of Congress through their representatives, and in this manner decree the abolition of slavery throughout the South—could you hope to witness even the *enactment* of such a decree, (to say nothing of its enforcement,) without its being accompanied by the most bloody consequences? Do you reply, that a fear of consequences should not deter us from doing right? This is cheerfully granted: but are you ready for a civil war, as the inevitable result of your interpretation of the Constitution? What reason have you to believe, from the past, that a civil war would not immediately follow, in the case supposed? Why, even a Wilmot proviso is shaking this Union to its foundation, so that ‘men’s hearts are failing them for fear, and for looking after those things that are coming upon the land’! Where, then, and what is to be the Union, under your constitutional interpretation?

Away with all this verbal casuistry, this legal quibbling, this idle parade of Lord Mansfield’s decision in the case of Somerset, (&) this useless appeal to Blackstone’s Commentaries, and the like, to prove that the U. S. Constitution is an anti-slavery instrument! It is worse than labor lost, and, as a false issue, cannot advance, but must rather retard, the anti-slavery movement. Let there be no dodging, no shuffling, no evasion. Let us confess the sin of our fathers, and our own sin as a people, in conspiring for the degradation and enslavement of the colored race among us. Let us be honest with the facts of history, and acknowledge the compromises that were made to secure the adoption of the Constitution, and the consequent establishment of the Union. Let us give heed to the prophetic declaration, that the world is not made up away—however terrible the intervening struggle—fetters will be struck for ever from the limbs of bondsmen, and slaves will be freed. The world will be won to freedom; the working-class will be emancipated, through a system of co-operative labor, equitable exchange, and just distribution, into a Commonwealth of Industry; hereditary dignities, the pride and power of money, the subterfuge of diplomacy, the tricks of professional politics, the sword’s infernal tyranny, will be humbled before the Law of Brotherhood, declared through a Congress of Nations allied in the Republic of Christendom; and on an earth interlinked by railroads, steamboats, telegraphs, into one body, will be manifested that life of Universal Unity, which is the end-in-view.

SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

William ‘Spirit of the Age,’ at New York, edited by William H. Channing, has been discontinued, ‘because,’ says its editor, ‘I am brain-sick—and it does not pay—two most potent reasons. Nevertheless, his valediction is written in his usual hopeful vein, and concludes with the following prediction:—

‘ Ere the next quarter of a century has rolled away—however terrible the intervening struggle—fetters will be struck for ever from the limbs of bondsmen, and slaves will be freed. The world will be won to freedom; the working-class will be emancipated, through a system of co-operative labor, equitable exchange, and just distribution, into a Commonwealth of Industry; hereditary dignities, the pride and power of money, the subterfuge of diplomacy, the tricks of professional politics, the sword’s infernal tyranny, will be humbled before the Law of Brotherhood, declared through a Congress of Nations allied in the Republic of Christendom; and on an earth interlinked by railroads, steamboats, telegraphs, into one body, will be manifested that life of Universal Unity, which is the end-in-view.

Yours, EDWARD SEARCH.

ANTHROPOLOGY; or the Science of Man: its bearing on War and Slavery, and on Arguments from the Bible, Marriage, God, Death, Retribution, Atonement and Government, in support of those and other Social Wrongs. In a series of Letters to a Friend in England. By HENRY C. WRIGHT. Cincinnati: E. Shepard, 41 Second street. 1850.

All this, we fear, is the work of centuries; but whether it comes soon or late, we believe in its ultimate realization in ‘the good time coming.’

Daniel Webster has run down to the *Fools* in the Senate, which is next to kissing the dust.

The communication from our friend Parker Pillsbury came too late for insertion this week.

FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT. LONDON, March 16, 1850.

DEAR GARRISON:

I see by the occasional views I get of the American papers, and by the ‘Liberator’ and ‘Anti-Slavery Standard,’ how satisfactorily (so at least it appears to me) the cause of abolitionism is progressing in the States. Perhaps to you who are in the turmoil, who bear the burden and heat of the day, it may not appear that the cause progresses in proportion to the labor of the disciples; but to us, at a distance, who have cognizance only of its larger and more important stages—who recollect your sufferings and persecutions—who remember poor Lovejoy and the martyrology, and the noble women who stood forth in the earliest days of your struggles—who remember that when you had gained strength enough to ‘bear the lion in his den,’ and present petitions to Congress, that those petitions were refused, and discussion was prohibited,—but who now see that it is one of the great social questions of the day in America, and that all the great powers of Europe are sympathizing with you—that it is not simply a North American but a world-wide question—to us who are so circumstanced, you seem to progress marvellously.

There is now involved in your struggle not only the question of slavery in the States, but of slavery in the world; it is a question in which the interests of universal man are involved; and whilst you are going on, earnestly and gloriously, fighting the question in one of its strong holds, the sympathy which is felt in Europe, and particularly in Great Britain, in your efforts, is effectually inspiring our statesmen for its abolition in British India and our dependencies; and is preparing the leading minds of Europe for the abolition of slavery in all its forms of feudal and territorial exactions. The Tenure of Lands, through which the laborers of Europe are borne down to destitution and starvation, will, ere long, be agitated in this country; it is one of the remnants of that personal slavery which once existed in this country, and it is continued now, together with the laws of primogeniture and entail, and the three are the great instrumentalities by which the poor peasantry are kept down in a state of half-starvation, and by which our aristocracy are enabled to issue such disgraceful prohibitions of marriage as are shown in the following extracts from public current newspapers here:

THE LUCA FAMILY. The performances of this family of youthful musical geniuses, at Cochituate Hall, on Thursday and Friday evenings, week before last, were very creditable, deserving much better patronage than they received; though we think the thin attendance was owing, in part, to the limited notice that was given of the concert. Doubtless, the hue of the skin had also something to do with the emptiness of the seats. Very shameful this, to any people, especially to those who call themselves by the name of Him in whom ‘there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free; neither black nor white,’ but all are one.’ The friends and advocates



For the Liberator.

A LULLABY FOR THE NATION.

Come hither, July glorified, and sit upon my knee,
And I will sing a ballad of the Ancients unto thee,
About a cruel Giant of the nineteenth century.
Alone, at hour of midnight, the wiles within his bowl,
There came to him the devil, to bargain for his soul:
As his web of glittering words the crafty Giant wove,
The demon looked upon him, and felt a demon's love,
Quoth he thou art a Web-star; thou shalt weave a
woof for me,

And spread my net for men in the nineteenth century,
So a Southern planter's form the knowing demon took,
And his senatorial dignity was spoken in his look.
Their kindred greetings over, they cordially incline,
Till each dark face grew mellow beside the bowl of
wine.

O'er the Giant's brow of darkness, the Senator now
drew,

A spell of evil power, that opes a tempting view:
Before him stood a palace, and a chair of state within,
And with mighty acclamations the people bore him
in;

But on Africa's sad captives he trampled in his way,
And the blood of bondmen dyed his inaugural array,
Did it move him? Not a tittle; he had been ripening
long;

Forever seeming good, forever meaning wrong.

Hypocrisy's shell where Sin matures her own,
Till too big for the disguise, the monster crime has
grown.

AY! Ay!" said the stout Fiend, (and he chuckled in
his glee,) "Weaver of potent words, wilt thou sell thyself to
me?

All this and more I'll give, and Mammon shall sustain
Whate'er thou doest for me, with all his minion train."

"To-morrow thou shalt know. In the council I will
sign,

If I yield to thy fair terms, the bond that makes me
thine."

Scarce had the Demon gone, when, lo! there came
a shire,

And in the midst appeared an Excellence divine.
The hardy Giant felt his iron muscles fail,

And his ice-bound heart did melt, and his bronzed
cheek grew pale;

For before pure Good the Evil can but tremble,
blench and quail.

* He hath shown thee his earth vision; but, lo!
thou art to see

A warning view which Heaven now condescends to
thee:

Behold a death-bed!—his own form is lying outstretched there;

His wild sepulchral look declares a madness of despair;

That childhood's glistening eye may gloat on hardened
nature shown,

Where Guile shrinks timid from the gaze of Virtue
turned to stone;

That through the people's eyes looks up to taunt with
scorn or stare;

And their better natures softened by the sermons of the
mount;

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